

Message Text

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DRAFTED BY S:LSEAGLEBURGER:ML
APPROVED BY S - MR. EAGLEBURGER
S/S -JMEALUM

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 127041 TOSEC 020177

NODIS
CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.) IS, SOPN
SUBJECT: ODDS AND ENDS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM EAGLEBURGER

1. GIVEN MY WILD SUCCESS WITH RESTON YESTERDAY, I HAVE VENTURED FORTH AGAIN WITH NEWSWEEK ON THE IEA AND OECD SPEECHES, BUT THIS TIME AVOIDING ANY DISCUSSION OF INDIVIDUAL OR AGENCY POSITIONS. NEWSWEEK IS SUFFICIENTLY INTERESTED IN THE WHOLE QUESTION OF YOUR TWO SPEECHES THAT THEY ARE EVEN THINKING OF A COVER STORY, THOUGH VAN VOORST TELLS ME TODAY THAT IT IS SUFFICIENTLY ESOTERIC THAT THEY DOUBT THEY WILL GO QUITE THAT FAR. NEVERTHELESS VAN VOORST AND ELFIN, AT LEAST, ARE APPARENTLY SUBSTANTIALLY IMPRESSED WITH THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CHANGE THE TWO SPEECHES REPRESENT.

2. VAN VOORST CONFIRMED FOR ME TODAY THAT THE GENERAL LINE CONTAINED IN THE EVANS AND NOVAK STORY LAST WEEK ABOUT A SHIFT IN YOUR POSITION ON PORTUGAL IS COMING FROM THE LOWER LEVELS OF THIS BUILDING (I ASSUME, ALTHOUGH HE WOULD NOT CONFIRM, THIS MEANS THE PORTUGUESE DESK). YOU
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WILL RECALL THAT SEVERAL WEEKS AGO YOU APPROVED A MEMO FROM EUR ON VARIOUS PORTUGUESE QUESTIONS. THIS MEMO SEEMS TO BE THE ITEM THAT HAS BEEN USED BY OUR LEAKERS WHEREVER THEY MAY BE TO DEMONSTRATE THAT YOU HAVE SHIFTED YOUR

COURSE. VAN VOORST KNOWS ABOUT THE MEMO AND WAS THINKING ABOUT A PERISCOPE ITEM ALONG THE EVANS AND NOVAK LINE OF LAST WEEK. I THINK I HAVE PERSUADED HIM THAT THE WHOLE STORY IS BALONEY, AND DOUBT THAT NEWSWEEK WILL DO ANYTHING WITH IT. NEVERTHELESS, THE POINT IS THAT YOUR INSTINCTS WERE CORRECT, ALTHOUGH I AM STILL NOT CERTAIN THE MAN SPECIFICALLY IDENTIFIED IN OUR CONVERSATIONS LAST WEEK IS, IN FACT, THE CULPRIT.

3. VAN VOORST ALSO TELLS ME THAT NEWSWEEK'S WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENT BELIEVES THE SHABECOFF ARTICLE CAME FROM THE SOURCE YOU AND I DISCUSSED ON THE 'PHONE THE OTHER DAY.

4. NOW LET ME TURN TO THE LAKELAND ITEM OF YESTERDAY WHICH SEEMS TO HAVE CONCERNED YOU. I KNEW WHEN I REPORTED IT THAT IT WAS NOT TERRIBLY CLEAR, BUT I HAD TIME ONLY FOR A BRIEF MEETING WITH LAKELAND YESTERDAY AND WAS NOT ABLE TO PURSUE THE OBVIOUS QUESTIONS WITH HIM AT THE TIME. I CALLED HIM TODAY TO SAY THAT I HAD THOUGHT ABOUT OUR CONVERSATION OVERNIGHT AND WOULD BE INTERESTED IN A MORE DETAILED EXPLANATION. I ASKED FOR EXAMPLE HOW SERIOUS HE THOUGHT OUR GENERAL PROBLEM WITH RELATION TO THE MIDDLE EAST WAS ON THE HILL. I WILL GO THROUGH HIS RESPONSE IN A MOMENT, BUT WANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT I CANNOT REPEAT NOT AT THIS POINT MAKE ANY JUDGMENT ON WHETHER LAKELAND IS IN ANY SENSE CORRECT OR IF THIS IS NOTHING MORE THAN THE MOUTHINGS OF A STAFFER WHO FEELS CUT OUT OF THE ACTION. HIS RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION WAS AS FOLLOWS: THE MOOD IN THE CONGRESS, AND PARTICULARLY IN THE SENATE, IS MORE ONE OF DISQUIETUDE THAN OUTRIGHT ANTAGONISM. NEVERTHELESS IT IS LAKELAND'S SENSE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE CONGRESS MAY BE MOVING IN OPPOSITE DIRECTIONS AND THAT IF THE REASSESSMENT PRODUCES ANYTHING NOVEL OR SERIOUS IN THE WAY OF NEW DIRECTIONS, THE CONGRESS IS LIKELY TO BE ANTAGONISTIC BECAUSE, IN HIS VIEW, "THE
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GROUND HAS NOT BEEN PREPARED AT ALL WELL." THE CONGRESS, HE SAID, DOES NOT KNOW WHAT IS GOING ON AND HAS NO COMMITMENT TO WHAT IS GOING ON (READ GOING ON TO MEAN REASSESSMENT). THE CONGRESS IS NOT BLOODY-MINDED AND HOPES THAT A NEW INTERIM AGREEMENT OR SOMETHING BETTER CAN BE ARRANGED, BUT THE ADMINISTRATION NEEDS TO CONSIDER THE WHOLE QUESTION OF FORMULATION OF OUR POLICY TOWARD THE MIDDLE EAST AS A PART OF THE CURRENT PROBLEM OF EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE RELATIONS. THERE IS A GENERAL VIEW ON THE HILL THAT THE REASSESSMENT IS EITHER A PHONY OR THAT IT IS DANGEROUSLY REAL AND THE CONGRESS IS BEING KEPT AT ARMS LENGTH. THE MESSAGE TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LETTER OF THE 76 MUST BE THAT OUR OLD POLICY TOWARD ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST

REMAINS IN FORCE UNTIL THE CONGRESS AGREES THAT IT SHOULD CHANGE.

5. LAKELAND SAID THAT WHEN YOU APPEARED BEFORE THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE TO DISCUSS THE MIDDLE EAST, THE GENERAL VIEW IN THE COMMITTEE WAS THAT YOU WERE NOT PARTICULARLY CONVINCING WHEN YOU DISCUSSED REASSESSMENT AND THAT YOU CLEARLY WERE ANXIOUS NOT TO REVEAL ANYTHING. HOWEVER, WHEN YOU MOVED ON TO A DISCUSSION OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE MIDDLE EAST TO OTHER ISSUES, SUCH AS THE SOVIETS, THE COMMON MARKET, JAPAN, AND SO FORTH, YOU WERE EXTREMELY CONVINCING AND EFFECTIVE. IN LAKELAND'S VIEW, WE ARE IN A POTENTIALLY VERY STRONG POSITION ON THE MIDDLE EAST IF WE ARE PREPARED "TO PLAY IT BETTER." THIS, HE SAYS, MEANS AN END TO PRESS REPORTS ABOUT HOW UNHAPPY YOU ARE WITH THE ISRAELIS WHILE YOUR PUBLIC LINE IS THAT WE HAVE NO INTENTION OF AFFIXING BLAME FOR THE FAILURE OF THE LAST ROUND OF TALKS. ACCORDING TO LAKELAND, THE PREVAILING VIEW ON THE HILL IS THAT YOU AND THE ISRAELIS ARE IN A "SPITTING MATCH" IN PRIVATE WHICH IS LARGELY THE RESULT OF PERSONALITY CONFLICTS BETWEEN YOU, RABIN, ALLON, ETC., AND THAT YOU ARE CONDUCTING A CAMPAIGN TO TRY TO "SCARE" THE ISRAELIS WHILE AT THE SAME TIME STAYING AS FAR AWAY FROM THE CONGRESS AS POSSIBLE IN TERMS OF DISCUSSING OUR REAL INTERESTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, WHAT IS AT STAKE THERE, WHERE YOU WANT TO GO IN THE FUTURE, AND WHAT OTHER INTERESTS (E.G., THE SOVIETS, THE EC, ETC.)

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MUST BE ACCOMMODATED IN THE PROCESS OF SETTLING THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM.

6. LAKELAND SAID AS WELL THAT THERE IS A GENERAL VIEW ON THE HILL THAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS TAKING MUCH MORE ACCOUNT OF THE ARABS, LARGELY BECAUSE OF THE OIL PROBLEM, WHILE BECOMING INCREASINGLY AMBIVALENT ABOUT THE FUTURE OF US-ISRAELI RELATIONSHIPS. LAKELAND WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE ADMINISTRATION MUST UNDERSTAND THAT IT IS VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR US TO BRING "MODERATING PRESSURES" ON THE ISRAELIS WITHOUT THE SUPPORT OF THE CONGRESS AND THAT OUR ATTEMPTS TO MODERATE ISRAELI ACTIONS WILL ONLY SUCCEED IF WE HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE CONGRESS AND ISRAEL KNOWS IT.

7. I THEN ASKED LAKELAND WHAT HE SUGGESTED MIGHT BE DONE BY THE ADMINISTRATION IN LIGHT OF HIS GENERAL ESTIMATE OF THE SITUATION ON THE HILL. HIS RESPONSE WAS NOT PARTICULARLY ENLIGHTENING BUT IT IS AS FOLLOWS:

8. YOU NEED TO BEGIN A SERIOUS AND WELL ORCHESTRATED "EDUCATIONAL AND SELLING CAMPAIGN" ON THE HILL. THE MARKET IS THERE, HE SAID, BUT IT REQUIRES SUSTAINED

CONTACT FROM YOU, SISCO, ATHERTON, SAUNDERS ET. AL. HE SAID HE THOUGHT THE HOUSE WAS OPEN TO BLANDISHMENTS FROM A WHOLE RANGE OF SUCH PEOPLE BUT THAT YOU WOULD NEED TO CONCENTRATE PARTICULARLY ON THE SFRC SPECIFICALLY AND THE SENATE IN GENERAL. REVERTING TO HIS POINT ABOUT THE NEED TO FORCE THE CONGRESS TO UNDERSTAND THE IMPACT OF THE MIDDLE EAST ON OTHER AREAS OF THE WORLD, LAKELAND ARGUED THAT WE NEED TO DO MUCH MORE TO GET THE CONGRESS THINKING IN GLOBAL TERMS ABOUT THE ISSUE. WE NEED TO DESCRIBE IN DETAIL WHAT IS AT STAKE FOR OTHERS SUCH AS THE WESTERN EUROPEANS, WHAT THEY MAY DO IF WE DO NOT KEEP THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS MOVING, ETC. HE ALSO SAID THAT HE THINKS YOU OUGHT TO SPECIFICALLY RAISE THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THE U.S. WILL BE PARALYZED IN 1976 BECAUSE OF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN; HE CONTINUED THAT THE MORE YOU ASK THAT QUESTION THE MORE YOU WILL FORCE THE CONGRESS TO SAY NO WE WILL NOT BE PARALYZED AND THE MORE YOU WILL FORCE BOTH SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN TO TAKE STEPS TO SEE THAT WE ARE NOT.

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9. LAKELAND THEN SAID THAT WE CANNOT HOPE TO DEVELOP SUPPORT FROM THE CONGRESS FOR WHATEVER MAY COME OUT OF THE REASSESSMENT UNLESS WE ARE, BEFORE THAT REASSESSMENT IS COMPLETED, PREPARED TO ASK THE CONGRESS (THROUGH THE COMMITTEES) FOR ITS VIEWS. WE DO NOT NECESSARILY NEED TO TAKE SPECIFIC ACCOUNT OF THOSE VIEWS (AND HE CONCEDES THIS WOULD PROBABLY BE IMPOSSIBLE ANY WAY SINCE WE WILL GET CONTRADICTORY ADVICE), BUT WE DO NEED TO MAKE CONGRESS FEEL IT IS A PART OF THE PROCESS.

10. ANOTHER INTERESTING POINT WAS THAT LAKELAND SAID WE DO NOT SEEM TO UNDERSTAND THAT BRIEFING THE LEADERSHIP NOWADAYS IS LOOKED UPON BY AVERAGE CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS AS NOTHING MORE THAN THE ADMINISTRATION'S ATTEMPT TO BYPASS MEANINGFUL CONSULTATION. CONSULTATION WITH THE LEADERSHIP, HE SAID, IS LIKELY TO CREATE MORE RATHER THAN LESS ANTAGONISM, PARTICULARLY IN THE HOUSE. IN ADDITION TO THAT GENERAL POINT, LAKELAND POINTED OUT THAT THE LEADERSHIP IS GENERALLY CONSIDERED AS ANTI-ISRAEL SO THAT THE USE OF THAT VEHICLE IS EVEN LESS ADVISABLE ON MIDDLE EAST ISSUES. FINALLY, HE SAID THE TROUBLE WITH BRIEFING THE LEADERSHIP IS THAT NOBODY ELSE EVER GETS ANY FEEDBACK. THE BRIEFINGS TAKE PLACE, THE LEADERSHIP RETURNS TO THE HILL, AND THEN TOTALLY FAILS TO HARE WHAT IT HAS GOTTEN WITH THE HOUSE AND SENATE MEMBERS.

11. FINALLY, LAKELAND ADVISED THAT WE USE THE COMMITTEE STAFFS AND THE INDIVIDUAL SENATE AND CONGRESSIONAL STAFFS MORE FULLY. HE SAID IT IS A FACT ON THE HILL THAT THE PRINCIPALS DO NOT FOLLOW THROUGH AND WHATEVER

CONTINUITY THERE IS ON THE HILL COMES FROM MEMBERS OF THE STAFF. LAKELAND FEELS WE DO A VERY POOR JOB OF INFORMING STAFF MEMBERS OF ANYTHING OF ANY REAL SUBSTANCE AND THAT IF WE DID SO WE COULD HAVE A SUBSTANTIAL EFFECT ON GENERAL HILL ATTITUDES OVER A PERIOD OF TIME.

12. LAKELAND CLOSED BY SAYING THAT THERE IS A GROWING FEELING ON THE HILL THAT FROM NOW ON IF THE ADMINISTRATION DOES NOT "BRING THE CONGRESS ALONG IN THE FORMULATION OF SECRET

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POLICY," THE CONGRESS WILL WASH ITS HANDS OF THE CONCLUSIONS AND MAKE IT CLEAR TO OTHER COUNTRIES THAT THE ADMINISTRATION SPEAKS ONLY FOR ITSELF AND COMMITS NEITHER THE CONGRESS NOR THE COUNTRY.

13. I OFFER THE ABOVE AS FOOD FOR THOUGHT WITHOUT ANY VERY CLEAR CONVICTION IN MY OWN MIND OF THE MERITS OF THE ARGUMENTS. TO THE EXTENT THAT IT IS A RATHER THOUGHTFUL DESCRIPTION OF THE ATTITUDES OF AT LEAST SOME MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND, I SUSPECT, MANY MEMBERS OF THE VARIOUS STAFFS, IT IS AT LEAST WORTH KEEPING IN MIND IN THE MONTHS AHEAD AS WE TRY TO SORT OUT OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE HILL.

14. INGERSOLL IS OUT OF TOWN FOR THE WEEK END WHICH MEANS THAT CARL MAW IS ACTING SECRETARY. IF YOU WILL LOOK AT THE RANK ORDER LIST, YOU WILL FIND THAT I AM IMMEDIATELY BELOW HIM. MAW HAS ALREADY NOTICED THIS AND TAKEN ON THREE TEMPORARY BODYGUARDS AND SOME FOOD TASTERS. INGERSOLL

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